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839 [957] Bestiality is an even rarer phenomenon than homosexuality. The only instances that were reported to me were, first, the curing of a venereal disease by intercourse with a donkey (6.61); and secondly, an adult herdsman who was seen standing on a rock and having relations with a female buffalo. The Basel Mission presbytery [799] minutes for 1903 (written by Badagas) cite similar problems with a Badaga Christian teacher: "...last year he committed sin with a Toda girl...when he was on the way to Ooty to see his wife, who had gone there for her confinement. He also confessed that he had committed the same sin with his own country mare. This was all he confessed." (Basel Mission 1905: 305.)

128 3.5. These however are for Badagas aberrant forms of sexual expression; most experimentation takes the form of heterosexual intercourse. Its techniques will be described later (3.16), but here we will discuss only those situations in which young Badagas learn about sexuality. For purposes of clarity we can talk about affairs with lovers of the same community, extra-community liaisons, and situations in which parents used to arrange formal training for their adolescent children.

864 835 836 [178] This last custom no longer prevails. It used to occur until some 30 years ago, the initiative to train a girl being taken by her own parents or another close relative; while a boy would usually seek his indoctrination in the arms of an elder brother's wife. In a typical case a man might tell his wife that their unmarried daughter was now old enough for sexual initiation. The wife would then speak to a married daughter about the matter, and she in turn would ask her own husband to offer the necessary practical training when an opportunity arose. In any event, it was supposed to be a relative, [607] such as sister's husband — even if only in a classificatory sense — who should initiate a young girl. If a girl did not undergo such an initiation there was another opportunity for her immediately following her wedding. In this instance the person who would deflorate the bride was not the groom, but a more experienced man who could be gentle with her for the first night or two, and would be related to her as a classificatory husband's brother. The new husband would be absent on these occasions. This custom is no longer [178] followed.

864 835 607 836 The obverse situation would involve a youth when aged about seventeen being given sexual training by a brother's wife who might be ten years or more his senior, and in some instances used to be

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picked for the task by the boy's own parents. This initiation of youths still seems to occur: some do it because an older man has advised them to, others because they love the woman, and others again because her own husband seems unable to satisfy her. The elder brother's wife is in fact the most accessible person for a youth's training or gratification: the two of them are often working together in the fields, and even if they do not live under the same roof a young man always has ready access to his brother's house. In earlier days relations with such a woman were particularly common when she was on the way from her husband's village to visit her father, when she was working outside the village, or when her husband went out to the fields to guard the crops against wild animals during the night. The husband might himself recommend that his younger brother stay with his wife, to assuage her fears of the Kurumba sorcerers. If the young man were seen leaving her house in the morning, no one would criticize him or think less of the woman.

Such formal sexual initiation has virtually ended, but adolescents still indulge in sexual play, some girls even being so aggressive as to way-lay boys in the woods for this purpose. There is no indication that such play occurs before the coming of puberty, and nowadays the fact that most children are attending school makes it less frequent. Since this kind of play most often occurs within the village community it takes place between consanguineal relatives, albeit distant ones. The play is of course conducted in secret, and without knowledge of the parents. The most adventurous kind of love assignment is one in which a youth hides inside the house of his beloved, by squatting inside the huge grain storage basket (*balla*) that some homes still have. Once everyone has gone to sleep he gets out for the rendezvous. Girls who are guarding a field from the birds are an ideal target for amorous adventures; and there it is usually a pair of girls who are approached by a pair of boys. Girls gathering wood in the forest may also be propositioned, but if they spend too much time away from the rest of the women their absence will be noticed. If it should happen that an adolescent girl becomes pregnant by a boy who is her agnate she cannot marry him, and her parents therefore try to arrange a marriage as quickly as possible with a male who is in the "correct" relationship to their daughter, preferably a cross-cousin. Generally a man does not want to marry a pregnant girl unless she is carrying his child.

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discover that an adolescent couple related in this acceptable way have become lovers, they try to persuade the two to marry. Should the girl become pregnant this pressure becomes very great.

It is said that prior to this century parents would make a pair of cross-cousins sleep together in a separate room before they were married. This was so that they might feel certain about their sexual compatibility. If one of them did not in fact like the idea of marrying the other, such an encounter might be arranged on some other pretext, solely in the hope that one cross-cousin would seduce the other and a marriage would result. A girl might even receive instructions from her mother on how to accomplish this and perhaps would be left by her mother at the boy's house for a night or two. Such practices led to hasty marriages, but are no longer followed.

A special kind of concubine-like relationship occurred until late in the nineteenth century. In those early times headmen had much more authority than subsequently, and local lore maintains that a headman visiting another village where he had to stay overnight would be offered his choice of the young village girls by the host headman. It was believed that a girl so favoured had special merit because of her physical connection with the prestigious visitor, and many men would therefore want to marry her. Although such a brief encounter was not expected to lead to a marriage with that headman, the chosen girl would normally have to be in an affinal relationship — i.e., tentative spouse — to the visitor.

(*b*) Second in frequency and relative acceptability is a sexual encounter within a joint family. Only two such relationships bear discussion, but genuine incest will be noted below under (*g*).

It is very rare for a man to have intercourse with his son's wife, even though a Badaga is generally more intimate in his relationship with her than more orthodox Hindus would be. What is common however is for a youth to have an affair with his elder brother's wife and doubtless in a few cases with a younger brother's wife. We have already pointed out (3.5) that an elder brother's wife may actually be called upon to provide a young man with his sexual initiation.

(*c*) The Toreyas have the lowest status of any Badaga phratry, except perhaps for the recently formed Christian one. With a few minor exceptions Badaga marriage occurs only *within* each of the ten phratries. Nonetheless there was a tendency to "hypergamy," if we may call it that, in extra-marital affairs. Toreya girls, and even

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by a Kurumba who used magic to get her. How else could he have succeeded?

Nowadays the patronizing of lowland prostitutes is seemingly more common than are casual relationships with Toda or Kota girls or for that matter local Kanarese or Tamilian girls. The choice of a prostitute is a matter of personal taste. Some men do not mind older women, others want them very young; some prefer Anglo-Indians, others Malayalis, and so on. The deciding factor is usually what one can pay. Both the main towns of the Nilgiris, Coonoor and Ootacamund, have a variety of women available. The pimps one approaches do not keep the girls, but can call them from their houses; a client has to pay the pimp, not the girl. During the main tourist season a crew of high-class prostitutes is maintained in, but not by, the main Ootacamund hotels. These women circulate from one hotel to another every few days. At the other end of the scale one occasionally encounters village prostitutes. In a typical case a lowland man kept two non-Badaga women, whom he claimed to be his wife and her sister, but whom he made available to anybody for a small payment.

(*f*) Intercourse with Badaga girls born in one's own village is technically incestuous and as such is frowned upon. Nonetheless men do sometimes have affairs with their parallel cousins who, in kinship terminology, would be called "sisters." It a girl visits a neighbour's house too often, or a youth from that house finds reasons to visit hers, their families get suspicious about the matter. They tell him to go away while the girl is present, or else ask her why she has to visit at this particular time. If such hints do not suffice, the girl may find herself quickly married to somebody else in another village.

(*g*) Real intrafamilial incest is extremely rare, except in the common case of a man having relations with the wife of an elder brother, a matter that can usually be excused. I know of few instances of genuine incest, but can present as meagre evidence of Badagas having an incest wish the fact that a tale about it is told repeatedly and listened to eagerly. This tale, supposedly of Tamil origin, is about a man whose wife died and who then had relations with his own daughter, thinking of her as a fruit that he had grown himself and would now enjoy. There are heavy prohibitions on sexual intercourse between a brother and sister. Were relations to occur between them their entire family would be despised. A brother and sister should not even sit together and talk in front of their elders. In fact affection

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between the two, or between a father and his daughter, has often led to a divorce.

In the estimate of one good informant, when incest occurs within the family it is most often with an elder brother's wife, and less commonly with a son's wife or with the father's second wife when she is a man's stepmother. Mother/son, father/daughter and brother/sister relations are the rarest of all, if indeed they ever occur.

The above seven types of illicit relationship are listed in my informant's order, going from (*a*) the most common but least serious, to (*g*), the most uncommon and offensive. Despite the considerable amount of evidence collected on these various types, I was told by old people that it used to be thought a very bad thing for a husband to commit adultery, and if his wife or another person found out about it she would go to the village headman who would call a meeting of the council and then fine the guilty person: in adultery the man was always at fault.

Among Badagas the public attitude towards a cuckolded husband is that he is a foolish, weak and lazy man, for otherwise his wife could not have been led astray. However, his wife also loses all respect with the other village women, who may well fear that they could lose their own husbands to her too. Nor can the adulterous man expect any accolades for his behaviour. Today a case of adultery may go before a council, which can still fine the adulterer; or her husband may quietly divorce an adulterous wife; or he might give the adulterer a beating, provided he had some alternate explanation for it to offer his neighbours.

Attitudes towards extra-marital love and prostitution are clearly expressed in Badaga proverbs and legends. Witness the following still current proverbs: "Three things are equal to each other: a harlot, an adulterer, and a piece of ground which is always in danger of being washed away by a river" (Metz 1864: 97); "If the food is spoiled, the day is spoiled; if the wife is spoiled, one's life is spoiled;" "The immoral woman will not believe her own husband;" "The whoremonger will vanish away like a handful of wind" (Metz 1864: 98); and again, "Lust is deceitful, I have lost my blanket through it" (Metz 1864: 96). A few lines from an epic poem conjure up a vision of limbo that is worthy of Dante's *Inferno :*

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585 826 It is believed that if a newly married girl has an itching sensation in the vagina while visiting her father's house, her husband will come to her the next night. Similarly, if a young husband is away from his wife, for example while grazing buffaloes, and he has an involuntary erection, this means that he will enjoy his wife within a day or two.

585 841 Sometimes a wedding is postponed a few days if the bride has a menstrual period immediately before the planned date. This is not because of the probable inconvenience at consummation, but simply because she cannot be allowed into the house until seven days after her period owing to a pollution taboo. And as we have suggested, a bride generally does not sleep with her husband immediately. She is made to sleep with other children in the family or other members of the household until her next period. Only then will the consummation occur, because the parents may want to make sure the girl was not pregnant prior to the wedding. Otherwise if they are quite certain she had a period a week or two before the wedding, and she is considered old enough, the parents may permit the consummation quickly. Even so, it is usually impossible for the bride to be deflowered until the third night because she is busy with a ceremonial visit to her own father's house and village, or with those relatives who are still visiting her. On the fourth evening however it may be possible to put the couple in a separate room or another house — a widow's house is easily vacated for this purpose. The groom goes to this "bed-house" after supper and waits there while some women persuade the bride to go and join him. Usually she is shy, and even if she is eager to go she pretends to be shy. When the shyness is genuine it is because the marriage has been arranged, and the bride does not know how her husband will behave. Some girls, and even the occasional youth, are so ignorant about things that they do not know why they are being sent off to a separate room together. Such an awkward situation can soon lead to divorce, or to further sexual training: an informant explained how he was asked (by his wife) to have a gentle intercourse with his wife's newly married sister, since she had been terrified on the night of the consummation. In general, if a newlywed husband or wife expresses fear of this event, an old woman crushes the leaf of the cockspur flower and makes the person swallow it in milk or water beforehand: this cures the fear.

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[586] [864] [835] [755]

881 826 Badagas believe the hymen exists only until puberty, when it is automatically ruptured by the first menses. (A few girls do not mens-

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833 course simply to please their parents; or so that the husband will not be suspected of impotence by his watchful relatives; or so that his parents may not accuse the girl of being barren; or, when one of them does want intercourse, the other does it merely to oblige. Pub-
[208] lic opinion is an important factor in sexual relations, and it must if possible be satisfied by a pregnancy. If a couple have no children
842 a divorce may be forced upon them after a while, even if neither
586 of them wants that. When a couple have no children outsiders start
208 asking their parents, "What is the matter with them?" Interestingly, loose talk of this sort will be directed towards the childless husband before people — primarily his parents — begin to attach any blame to the girl.

833 Older couples who have several children continue to engage in
887 coitus either for pleasure or out of habit, I was told. Men may con-
886 tinue into old age, perhaps performing the act no more than once a month; but women tend to lose interest once menopause has set in, and are often not in the best of health by that time. A small mino-
587 rity of widowers decide they have the strength to remarry and provided they are wealthy enough to support another wife may intimate this interest to a male friend of equal age. He will tell the old man's sons and daughters about the idea, and these children will then look around for a new stepmother. This however will only occur after they have tested the old man's capabilities. One test is to have some-
[514] one observe him when he urinates: it must be noted whether the flow
[827] of urine was strong enough to make a slight hole in the mud, which would be taken as an indication of suitable strength. A further test
587 might involve the wife of his younger brother. She would be deputed to catch him somewhere privately where she might suggest particular
•835 women for him, or even go so far as to assay his capabilities herself. Such an affair would be impermissible if the old man were related as a "husband's father" to her — albeit a classificatory one. But otherwise, provided the affair were handled with discretion, it would be quite acceptable for her to have relations with a husband's brother. Furthermore "it is quite common for a widow to marry her
587 brother-in-law" ("Miles" 1933: 74). In the past a wealthy old widower
833 might ask a younger man to find him a wife. If successful in this he would probably locate a young but barren woman, who might well complain right away that such an old man could not satisfy her. This dilemma was sometimes overcome when the go-between undertook to satisfy the woman provided she married his older friend.

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In a similar arrangement an old man's younger brother slept with the new wife and begot children who were treated as her husband's. Such practices now seem to have stopped. "Children for an older man are a weight on his shoulder," says the proverb.

3.16. In keeping with the idea that intercourse should satisfy a couple, Badagas are familiar with a variety of coital approaches—although nothing like that described in the *Kama Sutra*. The psychological benefits of making love are acknowledged in a proverb: "[If husband and wife are] not on good terms before midnight, they will play after midnight."

Badagas customarily take a bath before having sexual relations, and under normal conditions are both nude when making love. Older couples are generally naked in bed, but nowadays the younger people wear pyjamas or underwear. Young men, particularly if educated in a city, know how to use foreplay to get a woman excited. Until European films were seen in the Nilgiris, however, mouth-kissing was not indulged in, although men did kiss and bite the neck, cheeks and breasts of their women. Inside the house the normal position for intercourse is lying on a bed, but if they have to hurry the couple will use a standing position or stoop over something, with the man entering from behind, as indeed they do when in the forest. Parents may have relations in the same bed their children are sleeping in, in which case they will lie on their sides during intercourse. Curiously, a couple can do this with their baby lying beside them, and it will not be affected by the "bad wind" of coitus; whereas if they do it in another room they must not come near their baby until they have cleaned themselves and put on fresh clothes, for fear that the baby will be affected. Furthermore, if they also have some older children they may take them into the same bed with the baby before having intercourse in that very bed; the belief here being that even though the other children are weaned they too could be affected by this very dangerous "wind" if they were sleeping in another room. Young couples with no children generally sleep in a small room by themselves, on the end of the veranda. If their ageing parents live with them, the couple may leave the inner room to them and sleep under the wide shelf in the outer room. Otherwise a couple will occupy the inner room at night. If a man has two wives he usually has relations with one in the presence of the other, all three sharing the same bed.

Although a young bride should be the first to get up in the morn-

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Fertility and Infertility

3.17. A basic problem of public health administration—to control the abundant fertility of Indian and other Asian populations—has never been taken for a problem by the Badaga community. Even though their population has increased from 2,207 in 1812 to 104,392 in 1971 their village leaders are only now beginning to perceive that such a staggering increase (4,730 per cent in 160 years) has to be curtailed. Sons were of course valued in a farming community in a frontier-like situation, and long after swidden agriculture had ceased and the amount of farmland stabilized people still thought in terms of having a number of sons for security. This entailed on the average having the same number of daughters. ("Even though you repeatedly tell her, she is only delivering girls," a proverb bemoans.) And as standards of public hygiene slowly increased so too did the excess of births over deaths. In various prayers Badagas still ask: "May the house be filled with children!" In contrast, however, one proverb acknowledges that, "The mother who has given birth to ten children [is almost like someone] dead from having fallen in the lake." Another traditional proverb counsels: "Rather than deliver ten pigs [i.e., unscrupulous children], deliver one [good child] Nandi." In the 600 households of my sample the average nuclear family had 3.7 children.

For Badagas then, the more important problem is infertility. Several lady therapists have built their reputations on their abilities to cure or at least to predict a woman's barrenness. In some marriages, as we have seen, the apparent infertility is an effect, in the Badaga's view, of the couple thinking about divorce and hence not satisfying each other through intercourse. "Treatment" for infertility will be discussed in more detail below (6.62).

The commonest solution for an infertile marriage is for the woman to bring her younger sister into the home as a second wife. Should the latter prove infertile too their natal family is considered accursed: the thought that the problem might lie with the husband does not arise. If the barren wife does not supply a substitute she is usually sent home to her parents. Her fate then, if she is lucky, will be to marry a widower who needs a woman's labour in the house but who already has his children (Jagor 1876: 200). Nowadays childless couples tend to follow the South Indian practice of visiting distant temples on pilgrimage, and promising to give the gods something when they have been blessed with a son.

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842 be that way for every thousand women who are. It is not assumed that a women is barren if her first marriage produces no children, however: the couple should divorce and both remarry, in order to have children with other spouses. By this procedure it will be seen whether a person is really infertile. Badagas believe infertility is caused by a (754) curse, or by sin done in one's previous life, or by (783) the sins of one's ancestors. In some villages a (837) childless man would allow his brother to have (835) coitus with his wife in an attempt to gain offspring.

842 I was unable to identify any definite medicine for infertility. A barren girl was inspected nude by 759 a therapist and told that "she was intended to be a male and would never have childern." (Sometimes the therapist could tell from a girl's face if she were incurable, and told her so.) Nonetheless 842 the female therapist later on (around 1930) made 759 a positive suggestion for curing the barren girl: 755 she should get hold of a small boy just after he 839 had defecated, and while his penis was in a somewhat erect state; she should then gently suck on his organ. This was probably a reflection of the (827) idea offered somewhere in the Puranas that the semen of small boys is in vaporous form; later it becomes liquid; and in old age it has become solid. It is highly doubtful, however, whether any Badagas believe a woman can be inseminated through the mouth.

842 This particular therapist did have a medicine 759 for infertility, but apparently died with her secret long before I worked in her villages. She did know of a plant that cured the affliction, and once mentioned to a daughter-in-law that the cure was very difficult and that she had very high standards for its proper performance. In administering the medicine she also told women they should love their husbands to the utmost, for they were usually barren simply because their minds were not